

Session Three:

# BLACK CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND INSTITUTIONS

**A**lthough many were enslaved well into the nineteenth century, people of African descent infused their African cultural traditions in domestic spaces, public and secret routes, the education of their young, burial practices, and other aspects of their physical and social environments. Related historic places include, but are not limited to, schools, churches, gardens, cemeteries, settlement patterns, places of spirituality and worship, houses, transportation routes, and places of assembly and social interaction.

## **Africanisms in the “Old Ship of Zion”: What Are Their Forms and Why Do They Persist?**

Audrey Brown

## **Interwoven Traditions: Archaeology at The Conjuror’s Cabins and African American Cemetery at the Jordan and Frogmore Plantations**

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# Africanisms in the “Old Ship of Zion”: What Are These Forms and Why Do They Persist?

Audrey Brown

**In 1980 my husband and I went to live with his mother's people in rural north central Florida. We left Interstate 75 at Ocala and headed west on SR 40 for about eight to ten miles. There, just off the road as it turned from asphalt to dirt, we found New Zion Baptist Church. We were in the heart of Zion, where African Americans have lived for at least 178 years, first as maroons, then as slaves, and then as free pioneers. Where they once homesteaded, now a few members of those families continue as a community, in a place of cultural memory, an African American ethnographic cultural landscape called Zion (pseudonym).(1)**

The landscape concept derives from the art world where beginning in the sixteenth century painters depicted rural scenery as an idealized or imagined place where people lived divorced from the realities of the everyday real world.(2) Anthropologists use the concept of an ethnographic landscape as a framing convention, as they try to distinguish between the "objective" outsider's view of place and the insider's or "native's point of view." We describe the objective and interrogate how, as Setha Low put it, "place becomes space made culturally meaningful."(3) In this paper I aim to uncover how, in Zion, African Americans created and sustained such a place for generations. I argue that some of the "Africanisms" I found in Zion helped sustain this community for more than a century. The paper is based on primary source ethnographic and archival data I collected between 1980 and 1994 in Florida and other parts of the south

and the Caribbean, along with comparative data derived from the literature on African American archeology.

## Precinct 4

The place that people who live here call Zion, U.S. Census Population schedules call Precinct 4. Oral history, historical documents, tombstones, maps and references to the population from 1828 through 1875 suggests that most Zionites are descendants of maroons, freed slaves, and Seminole Indians.(4)

In 1828 J. C. Ley, a Methodist circuit rider was traveling through Florida preaching to settlers, their slaves, maroons and Seminoles. In his diary Ley says he heard about a group of blacks living with the Indians a few miles west of Camp King, the general location of present day Zion.(5) He set out to find them hoping they would translate his message to the Indians. Ley tells of finding the Indians and about 50 blacks who came out of the woods led by Pompey, the "father and grandfather and leader of them all."(6)

Early maps of Florida mark "Negro Town" at the mouth of the Withlachochee River, and Negro towns along the Suwanee River. Modern day Zion is geographically located between the Withlachochee and Oklawaha Rivers. Comparison of the 1860 and 1870 census schedules for Precinct 4 show a dramatic increase in the black population. This finding supports historical accounts that after the Afro-Seminole Wars some maroons went into hiding only to reemerge after the Civil War. It also supports oral history and written historical accounts of slaves leaving South Carolina and Georgia plantations during the final days of the Civil War, traveling by boat along the Georgia coastal waters down the St. John and Oklawaha Rivers to freedom in the isolated thickets of Central Florida.(7) Zion is an ethnographic cultural landscape full of structures, sites and places of memory

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to descendants of seven African American families enumerated there in the U.S. Census of 1870 and the Florida State Census of 1875.(8)

Around 1863, my husband's great-grandparents, Abraham Lincoln and Melinda Johnson, run-a-way slaves from South Carolina, first camped in the woods of present day Zion. By 1870 one finds the Staggers, Mobleys, Austins, Robinsons, Carters, and Jacobs lived nearby. In the 1880s these seven families and their descendants, formally homesteaded the lands on which they settled. [Figure 1] The Lewis brothers joined them and married their daughters. The Wilson brothers and Joe Maeweathers did the same thing ten years later. One hundred years later, I recorded accounts of life in Zion as the children and grandchildren of these African American pioneers remembered it or as their elders recalled it to them.(9)

Between 1870 and 1880, "Uncle" Oliver Lewis, an ex-slave Baptist deacon from Virginia and "Aunt" Suzie Staggers, the community midwife, began to hold Baptist church meetings in Zion "peoples homes," then in "bush harbors." "Aunt" Suzie was the first Mother of the Church. The people built a log cabin church on land donated by Huldy Austin, who later



Figure 1. Homestead Deed of Abraham Lincoln Johnson. Courtesy of the personal papers of James Brown, Jr.

Figure 2. Old Zion Church built circa 1900. Photo courtesy of James Brown, Jr. Figure 3. New Zion Baptist Church, Zion, FL, built circa 1950. Courtesy of Audrey L. Brown.

Figure 3. New Zion Baptist Church, Zion, Florida built circa 1950.

Figure 4. Friendship Church in Martel, Florida built circa 1900-1915 by people of Zion for migrant African American workers in lime quarries, on roads and railroads. Photo courtesy of Audrey L. Brown, 'Tis the Old Ship of Zion; Rituals and Oral Traditions of Afro-Baptist Churches in Florida, 1983-1986. Ocala, FL: n.p., 1986.

Figure 5. Women worked in the Fields. Photo courtesy of Dorothea Lange, America from the Great Depression to World War II: Black-and-White Photographs from the FSA-OWI, Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress.



became the second Mother of the Church. Huldy Austin was also a community midwife. Around 1885-1890 "Aunt" Suzie's son Reverend Henry Staggers was called to pastor the church. He continued to pastor there until his death in the 1940s. His daughter, "Cousin" Rea, the Mother of the Church when I lived in Zion, remembered her father holding services in a one-room frame church, before he built "Old Zion" around 1900. [Figure 2] "New" Zion church followed a half century later.[Figure 3] Zion settlement was named after the church. Zion church like other rural churches was originally a family church, with no outside membership. To keep it that way, one person told me the community men built another little church for "them boys who come down here to work in the turpentine stills and quarries."(10) [Figure 4]

Old Zion church like the other Baptist churches that mushroomed across the rural south after the Civil War, was the center of community life. From Old Zion and the other churches sprang schools, benevolent and mutual aid societies, social institutions that sustained community life. Between 1869 and 1889 Zion churchwomen were among the Afro-Baptist women who formed 28 women's societies in Florida to help ex-slaves.(11)

Over the first 40 years of the twentieth century the hamlet was at its zenith. During this time about 300 Zion people farmed over 1,700 acres of homestead land. They were mostly subsistence and small cash crop farmers of cowpeas, corn, and rice. The community grew as women birthed families of five to ten children. Taking their small babies with them, women worked the fields along side of the men.[Figure 5] Some tasks were the sole province of women such as delivering babies, caring for the elderly and children, and treating common illnesses with herbal remedies.(12)

Even in the 1980s there were some women who still farmed and all women, regardless of education and occupation, were responsible for providing and cooking vegetables and other staple foods for the family, and caring for the elderly and the young.(13)

My husband and I first lived in one of three houses still found on his great-grandfather's homestead. It was a tin-roofed, cement-block house that had been built in 1959. The rooms ranged in size from eight feet by eight feet to 12 feet squared. The cabin behind it in the northeast was about a 12-foot squared room with another smaller room behind, and a little eight feet by eight feet room built out in front on one side of the porch. [Figure 6] It had wooden windows and an open hearth for cooking and warmth.(14) There was frame shotgun house behind our house on the southwest, back about 50 yards. [Figure 7] The rooms in the frame house were small, no larger than ten feet by ten feet. Like most houses in Zion, all three of these houses had porches.

The Staggers home about a half-mile east of where we lived was a modified shotgun house. There were two rooms built parallel to the basic two room, shed kitchen model seen in Figure 12. In 1980 it was still heated by an open hearth. Two of Suzie Stagger's granddaughters lived there along with their extended families. None of the rooms in this house exceed ten feet by ten feet. Nearby there were ruins of a building of the same design that had been home to another one of their sisters. About 50 feet away, a third building, that had housed their youngest brother had been torn down and replaced by a trailer.

The Mobley land began just beyond the Staggers'. When we first came to Zion there were seven Mobley home sites, four houses, one ruin, and two trailers. Malachi, whose mother was a

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Figure 6. Side view of cabin on homestead of Abraham Lincoln Johnson, a founder of Zion, FL. Photo courtesy of Audrey L. Brown, 1984, Gimme that ol' time religion: Oral history Tapes. Audiotapes and slides. Ocala FL: n.p., 1983-1984.

Figure 7. Home of Turpentine worker near Cordele, AL. FSA- OWI, Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress.



Figure 8. Malachi Green's Mothers House, circa 1930s, Zion, FL. Photo courtesy of Audrey L. Brown, 1984, Gimme that ol' time religion: Oral history Tapes. Audiotapes and slides. Ocala FL: n.p., 1983-1984.

Figure 9. Mud and log construction in old house originally built in the late 18th or early 19th century by free people of color, descendants of Marie Therese Coincoin, a freed slave who established Yucca Plantation, Natchitoches, LA. Courtesy of Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



Figure 10. Frame house on posts, former slave dwelling, Wray Plantation, Greene County, GA. Photo courtesy of Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



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Mobley, preserved his mother's home after her death. He lived next to it in a trailer about 25 feet away. Three other buildings on Mobley land were home to an elder Mobley man and his cousins, two elderly sisters. These homes, built about 25-30 feet apart, were the same design as Malachi's mother's house and about the same size. [Figure 8] They had small rooms about ten to 11 feet squared. After the elder Mobley's died the houses were torn down and four trailers erected. Although the trailers had larger rooms and they were located on several acres of land, the close settlement patterns persisted.

Younger people, like Pauline a school teacher and her husband, a retired military person, built their home with seven rooms and a porch, none of which exceed the 12 feet by 12 feet dimensions that we shall see was characteristic of colonial African American domiciles. In 1986, J.B.'s cousin Georgie, a retired postal worker, built her mother a "new" house. The rooms in the new home, built by a local African American contractor, are about 12 feet by 12 feet or less. I asked myself what does it mean that Zion people with the means to build spacious houses recreate rooms the same size as the houses built by their foreparents? What are the origins of the architectural styles and settlement patterns found in Zion? To answer that question I turned to the archeological record of colonial African American sites in Low Country South Carolina, the place of origins of almost all the people who settled Zion.(15)

### Archeological Evidence

Yaughan and Curriboo plantations operated in an isolated area of South Carolina low country from 1740 through the 1820s. During the 1700s the ratio of

Africans to Europeans was 15:1 and population increases resulted from fresh infusions of Africans. Natural increase resulted in the 27:1 ratio found after the Revolutionary War. During this period slave families were kept together even when estates were settled, a factor promoting stable family life. Left largely on their own under these conditions, Africans and their descendants had cultural autonomy that was reflected in their material culture.(16) They established and maintained a society that Berlin argues was based on an African model. The fact that Mintz and Price argued for a Caribbean model, Wheaton and Garrow comment, "does not change the fact, however, that the slaves who inhabited Yaughan and Curriboo maintained a material culture that was distinct from that extracted from Euro-American sites."(17)

### House Architecture

Three distinct slave quarters were excavated, early Yaughan (1750-1780), later Yaughan (1780s-1820s), and one slave quarter at Curriboo occupied from the 1740s until shortly after 1800. The architectural features of these structures present a clear picture of change from mud-walled huts, evidenced by wall trenches with cob-wall construction in the earliest structures to frame houses constructed on posts after the Revolutionary War.[Figures 9,10] The Early Yaughan structures had no chimneys. Evidence of an open hearth directly on the earthen floor was found in one house along with the bottom of another hearth outside the houses.(18)

The dimensions of the Yaughan and Curriboo houses varied in size between periods: the earlier structures had ranged from 12.5 feet by 11 feet to 13.5 feet by 20 feet, three of the later struc-

tures were 14.5 feet by 9.8 feet to 15.5 by 10 feet in dimension. Most were rectangular and housed one family. (19)

### Settlement Patterns

In the early slave quarter, one set of Yaughan houses are located approximately 25 -50 feet apart in a circle. The houses in a second set are adjacent to each other and approximately 25 feet apart. A third set of structures show a similar pattern. At Curriboo, houses are 50 feet or less apart. Wheaton and Garrow concluded that settlement patterns and architectural form of the buildings on Yaughan and Curriboo plantations appeared to have antecedents in West Africa, and "probably represents a West African architectural form."(20)

Other scholars commenting on architectural form and settlement patterns of eighteenth and early nineteenth century African Americans, both slave and free, agree that the patterns seen reflect West African origins. Vlach commenting on architectural form and settlement patterns on enslaved African American constructions noted the twelve-foot squared unit, the presence of porches and close settlement patterns resonates with houses constructed in Haiti and West Africa.(21) Deetz made similar comments about the closeness of settlement patterns in an excavation of houses built by free African Americans in Massachusetts. He concludes that the close settlement patterns at the site differed significantly from their Yankee contemporaries and that they "reflect a more corporate spirit than four Anglo-Americans might show under similar circumstances."(22)

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century African American architecture featured the shotgun house, one room wide, two or three room deep house with a forward-facing gable and

porch. [Figures 11, 12] A modified shotgun house was built with two room additions along the side of the basic floor plan. The second Florida house we lived in followed this pattern with room sizes ranging from 10 to the 12 foot-squared dimension. It was located in a family clearing along with two trailers. One author comments that the close settlement patterns are African ways of expressing kinship and corporate closeness through physical nearness.(23) The persistence of small room size in African American architecture might also express the same kinds of African values.

Zion people still live in "micro-" settlements of extended families, their homes built close together. The older houses and some new ones replicate the architectural characteristics of their foreparents. History shows there were close connections between post-emancipation land use and familial and kin beliefs of freed men and women. Of particular concern to freed slaves were their "old and infirm Mothers and Fathers and our children."(24)

During the Great Migration people left Zion and over the years much of the land was sold to "outsiders," both African Americans and Whites. Today, relatively few Zionites actually live in the circumscribed area around the church building. Those that do are mostly middle age and elderly people. Yet Zion community and New Zion Baptist Church persist as a culturally meaningful place to Zionites across the state and the nation, connected by modern transportation and communication networks. Wherever they live people return periodically for church services. Some come annually for Homecoming Sunday in July. Others come only for Home-Going Celebrations when people die. The turnout for the Mother of the Church,

Cousin Rea, in 1993 was one of the largest in recent years. Mothers Day services draw the largest congregations.

Kinship, community, and funeral celebrations are all significant aspects of West African culture. Along with the housing and settlement patterns, it seems to me there are also reflections of West African influences in the matrifocality I observed in Zion family and church life.

### **Matrifocality in the Social Organization of Zion**

Zion family and church social organization are matrilineal, matrifocal, and matrilineal. [Table 1] When asked, people say they live near their mother's people even though their father's people also live in the community. They attend their mother's church. Men who marry into the community attend their wife's mother's church. People venerate their mothers and motherhood. If women do not bear children they adopt them. Elderly mothers have the greatest prestige in Zion. Adult children will visit their mothers frequently and elderly mothers are visited daily. Women and men will provide physical care for their mothers as needed. When a daughter or granddaughter are unavailable to give care, other women, cousins, nieces, and daughter-in-laws help. If no one else is available a son will live with his or mother and take care of her. People reckon descent through their mothers, again even when their father's people live in the community.

The New Zion Baptist Church social organization is also characteristically matrilineal, matrifocal, and matrilineal. People attend their mother's church. Men who marry into the community attend their wife's mother's church. If a man from the community marries a

woman from another church, at least one of his children, usually a daughter, will attend his mother's church, but the rest of the children attend their mother's church. A man or woman who marries into the community may be "funeralized" at New Zion but they are buried in the cemetery of their mother's church. Prestige in the church is determined by gender, age, descent, and religious commitment. Elderly women, who never left the church, called church mothers, have greater prestige than even the deacons. The church social organization is illustrated by the way Zion elders arranged themselves for photographs. [Figure 13] The oldest women are in front with those descended from the original families in the middle. Their younger sisters and cousins are on the second row. Cousin Rea, 93 years old, Mother of the Church and granddaughter of the first Mother, sits in the center in a white hat. "Aunt" Sister, the granddaughter of Huldy Austin, sits next to her dressed in white. The women on the ends of the front row are an "incomer" on the right and an "outsider," on the left. The men arranged themselves behind the women by age, then by family descent of their wives or mothers.

The most prestigious woman's role is Mother of the Church. Theoretically she is elected from among all the church mothers. However, a pattern of what seems to be matrilineal succession is evident among all the women who have been elected. [Figure 14](25)

### **"Africanisms" in American Culture: Women's Church Roles along the Continuum**

Locating the presence of this African American cultural landscape was relatively straightforward. Linking house

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Figure 13. New Zion Elders, 1985. Front Row: Left to Right, Sister Tot Bellamy; Sister Josephine Maeweathers Tindall; Deaconess Annie Staggers Jacobs ("Cousin" Rea, Mother of the Church); Deaconess Harriet Jacobs Lewis ("Aunt" Sister, Acting Mother of the Church); Mrs. Rosabelle Lewis Simms ("Cousin" Rosabelle); Mrs. Cecelia Carter; Mrs. Mary Mobley ("Miss" Mary). Second Row: Mrs. Hattie Staggers Butler (Present Mother of the Church); Mrs. Cora Maeweathers Beasley; Mrs. Crozella Mobley Jacobs (Presently on Mothers Board and Mother of the current pastor); Mrs. Victoria Bell (Former Pastor's Widow). Back Row: Chairman of Deacon Board, Deacon Edgar Simms; Reverend Henry Lewis; Deacon Prince "Doc" Brooks; Deacon Sebron Bellamy; Deacon Irving Lewis; Mr. Isom Mobley. Photo courtesy of Audrey L. Brown, 1986, 'Tis the Old Ship of Zion; Rituals and Oral Traditions of Afro-Baptist Churches in Florida, 1983-1986. Audio and videotapes. Ocala, FL: n.p.

**Family and Church Social Organization**

<b>Social Organization</b>	<b>Family</b>	<b>Church</b>
<b>Matrilocal</b>	People live near their mother's people	People attend their mother's church
<b>Matrifocal</b>	Veneration of motherhood and mothers.  Expressed in biological or fictive motherhood.  Expressed in physical care for elderly mothers.	Elderly women are called "church mothers."  Highest prestige accorded elected "Mother of the Church"
<b>Matrilineal</b>	People reckon descent through their mother's family	Mother of the Church Office only held by female descendents of first and second Mothers of the Church (circa 1880-2001)

Table 1. Comparison of Family and Church Social Organization

Figure 14. Mother of Church, Zion Baptist Church, 1880-2001. Chart courtesy of Audrey L. Brown.

architecture and settlement patterns to West African customs and material culture can be supported or refuted by observation. However, making the argument that matrifocality in Zion family and church social organization are "Africanisms" is more problematic. Social scientists question, if there are "Africanisms" in African American culture, how does one identify them and explain the persistence of some African cultural traditions and not others?

Herskovits held that what he called "Survivalisms" are likely to be found in religious cultural forms and that one could best identify African patterns by comparing the intensity with which they present themselves along a continuum beginning in the Caribbean and ending in urban areas of North America. If the form was of African origin, he theorized, it would be most recognizable and intense in the Caribbean and least evident in the northern urban milieu.(26) Following his model I searched for the presence or absence of a woman with the title, role and functions like the "Mother of the Church." I looked at Jamaica Revivalists and Spiritual Baptists of Barbados,(27) two religious communities with ethnohistorical linkages to North American Afro Baptists dating back to the late 18th century.(28) I also searched for evidence of an emphasis on "Mother" in New Ferryfield Baptist Church on John's Island, South Carolina; Salem Baptist Church in Washington, DC and Kaighn Avenue Baptist Church in Camden, New Jersey.

I found the title of "Mother" used in different variations for elderly women of prestige was more or less emphasized in all of the religious communities except in New Jersey. Just as Herskovits predicted, the northern most, urban church demonstrated least evidence of the cultural form. Kaighn Avenue Baptist church, established in 1854, is

one of the oldest Afro-Baptist congregations in New Jersey. In a 1986 interview the present pastor who told me there was no one with the title of Mother of the Church. At Salem Baptist Church, established in 1874 in Washington, DC, the Mother of the Church was the oldest living church member. She held the title but with no role-functions. At Ferryfield Baptist church, established in 1885, the Pastor's wife's mother was the Mother of the Church.

There were multiple "Mother" roles among the churchwomen in both Jamaica and Barbados. The Mother with the most Status in the Jamaica group had similar role-functions as those of the Florida Mother of the Church. [Figure 15] Much as Herskovits theorized, I found this social form had greatest intensity among the Spiritual Baptists in Barbados. There were greater numbers of Mother roles among them and probably most telling, the highest women's role was the Arch Mother. [Figure 16] The Arch Mother blesses the sea and sanctifies the beach where baptism takes place. The Arch Mother is also the sister of the group's leader evidence of matrilineal social organization.(29)

Matrifocality is clearly a West African cultural form. It was evident in the pre-contact social organization of ALL of the Sub-Saharan West African societies that were the provenance of the majority of the slaves coming to Barbados, Jamaica, the northern colonies and South Carolina between 1650 and 1806. The Mande, Akan, and the Kongo cultures were matrilineal. Even though Oyo, Benin and Dahomean social structure was patrilineal, females were central figures in their religious pantheons. Women held prestigious roles of religious ritual authority with the title of Mother, for example the Ilyorishas, or Mother of the Orishas [gods] among the Yoruba. Women were equal partners in

the Ogboni and other secret societies that served as super-ordinate institutions for social control and whose members had great prestige.(30) In fact, matrifocal social forms within the context of religion, are among what Turner called "the same ideas, analogies and modes of association [which] underlie symbol formation and manipulation from the Senegal River to the Cape of Good Hope. They are symbols which remain extraordinarily viable," he noted, "and the themes they represent and embody are tenaciously rooted."(31) Herskovits suggested the tenacity of cultural patterns was related to the compelling nature of their cultural significance.

The Africanisms found in Zion are also expressed in a myriad of ways by African Americans in general. The cultural landscape I describe here is one where closeness and cooperation within and between families are as necessary now as they were 150 years ago. It seems to me that the social forms and material cultural Africanisms that continue to have salience in Zion are precisely those needed to sustain the community over time. Matrifocality in the family and the church expressed in roles and responsibilities of the Mother of the Church are, as Clifford Geertz put it, at once models for and of social reality, in this case what women had to do to maintain family and community integrity both physically and spiritually.(32) The West African architectural and settlement patterns promote living accommodations that seem to buttress the centrality of family. The primacy of family relationships and the closeness of family ties are forged in the intimacy of small size rooms, while the settlement patterns emphasize the necessity of closeness and cooperation between family groups.

The Africanisms in Zion are a microcosm of Africanisms in African America.

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Figure 15. Episcopate Mother of a Revivalist Band Church, Kingston, Jamaica. Photo courtesy of Audrey L. Brown. 1988, *REVIVAL! Kapo's Last Pentecost: Rituals and Oral Traditions of St. Michael's Tabernacle, a Jamaica Revivalist Band* [Audiotapes, Slides and Videotapes] n.s., n.d.

Figure 16. Reverend Mother of Spiritual Baptist church, Ealings Grove, Barbados. Photo courtesy of Audrey L. Brown, 1989, *Another Ark: Rituals and Oral Traditions of the Spiritual Baptists of Barbados 1988-1989*, n.s., n.d.

One has only to observe the various award shows to be struck by the frequency with which Blacks receiving various awards, first give thanks to God and then to their family particularly their mothers. African American literature and ethnographies repeat themes and descriptions of settlement patterns in urban and rural settings that reinforce closeness and cooperation.<sup>(33)</sup> It seems to me that these discernable Africanisms in the cultural landscape of Zion represent values and belief systems that were and are necessary to sustain this particular community and African American communities in general. New Zion Baptist Church is still the central social institution in Zion as the church is still the central African American social institution. In Zion, Atlanta, and Harlem the family is in the church and families are the church.

When our politic representatives speak they use the idiom of the matrifocal family; a notable example is the referral to Rosa Parks as the "Mother" of the Civil Rights Movement. In the family and church, the emphasis on women as "mothers" in the church's social organization and their church roles of prestige, are African-derived cultural values and social forms which are materially significant to day-to-day family life that have sustained Zion over time, as a cultural landscape. A place of cultural memory, an imagined place where people can find respite from the realities of the everyday real world as well as not yet forgotten, if not always adhered to, principles to live by.

**Endnotes**

1. The paper is based on primary source ethnographic and archival data I collected between 1980 and 1994 in Florida, in other parts of the south, and the Caribbean, along with comparative data derived from the literature on African American archaeological sites. The research reported in this paper was funded by: National Endowment of the Humanities, Summer Seminar for College Teachers, Atlanta University, 1984; University of Florida Minority Graduate Student Fellowship, 1983-1984; National Institute of Health, NRSA, post-doctoral Advanced Research Training Grant, NU05738-01, 02, and 03, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, 1984-1987; Fulbright Senior Research Fellowship, University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, 1988-1989; Thanks be to Grandma Winifred Foundation, 1993-1995; American University Graduate Student Fellowship, 1994-1996.

2. Eric Hirsh, "Introduction," in *The Anthropology of Landscape Perspectives in Time and Space*, eds., Eric Hirsh and Michael O'Hanlon, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 1-3.

3. Setha M. Low, "Cultural Conservation of Place," in *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage*, ed., Mary Hufford (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1994), 66-67.

4. General D. L. Clinch, "Letterbook, 1834-1835, Fort King, FL," DLC; U.S. Territorial Census, 1840, "Alachua County, FL, Photo-reproduction of manuscript schedules. Tri-County Regional Library, Ocala FL.; U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1850. U.S. Census, Marion County FL. Microfilm of manuscript schedules, Tri-County Regional Library, Ocala FL.; U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1860. U.S. Census, Marion County FL. Microfilm of manuscript schedules, Tri-County Regional Library, Ocala FL.; U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1870. U.S. Census, Marion County FL. FL Photo-reproduction of manuscript schedules. Tri-County Regional Library, Ocala, FL.; J. R. Giddings, *Exiles in Florida* (Columbus OH: n.p., 1858); Florida Bureau of Census. 1865. Florida State Census. Manuscript schedules. Tri-County Regional Library, Ocala FL.; Florida Bureau of Census. 1885. Florida State Census. Manuscript schedules. Tri-County Regional Library, Ocala FL.; J. C. Ley, *52 Years in Florida* (Nashville TN, Dallas TX: Publishing

House of the M. E. Church South, Barbee and Smith, 1879); Kenneth Porter, "Florida Slaves and Free Negroes in the Seminole War, in *Journal of Negro History* 28(4)(1943): 390-421. Audrey L. Brown, "Gimme that Ol' Time Religion: Oral History Tapes, 1983-1984," Audiotapes and slides. (Marion County, Florida, n.s., n.d.)

5. Camp King came to be known as Fort King during the Afro-Seminole Wars. It was subsequently developed into the city of Ocala.

6. Ley, *52 Years in Florida*, 39-42.

7. Clinch, "Letterbook, 1834-1835," DLC; M. M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*. Florida State Museum Library (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964[1863]).

8. US Bureau of the Census. 1870 US Census, marion County, FL, photo reproduction of manuscripts schedules. Tricounty Regional Library, Ocala, FL; Florida State Census, 1875, manuscript schedules. Tri-county Regional Library, Ocala, FL; Florida Bureau of the Census.

9. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1870. U.S. Census, Marion County FL. Photo-reproduction of manuscript schedules. Tri-County Regional Library, Ocala FL Personal documents of the Abraham Lincoln Johnson Family 1883-1937; audiotapes of Malachi Green, Cora Maewathers Beasley, Mary Mabley, Willie Bostick, Harriet Jacob Lewis, Rosabelle Lewis Simms from Brown, "Gimme that Ol' Time Religion."

10. Audrey L. Brown, personal communication with "Doc" Prince Brooks.

11. George P. McKinney and Richard I. McKinney, *History of the Black Baptists of Florida 1850-1985* (Miami, FL: Florida Memorial College Press, 1987).

12. Brown, "Gimme that Ol' Time Religion."

13. According to oral history, the men were responsible for providing meats and fish in the past. Interestingly, in the 1980s they still were responsible for doing so just as they were when they hunted and fished for them.

14. Even though a nearby "horse farm," steadily encroaches upon these lands, buying up acreage whenever land came on the

market to settle estates, much of the original hamlet is still evident in these old houses standing after new houses are built.

15. Brown, "Gimme that Ol' Time Religion"; and Census data

16. Amy Friedlander, "Establishing Historical Probabilities for Archeological Interpretations: Slave Demography of Two Plantations in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740-1820," in *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton, 215-238 (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1985)

17. Thomas R. Wheaton and Patrick H. Garrow, "Acculturation and the Archaeological Record in the Carolina Low Country," in *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton, 242, (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1985).

18. Wheaton and Garrow, "Acculturation and the Archaeological Record," 243-257.

19. Ibid, 243-247.

20. Ibid, 257.

21. S. Fiske Kelso, *Kingsmill Plantations, 1619-1800* (New York: Academic Press, 1984); John M. Vlach, *By the Work of Their Hands: Studies in Afro-American Folk Life* (Ann Arbor, MI and London: UMI Research Press, 1991), 225.

22. James H. Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1977).

23. Susan Denyer, *African Traditional Architecture: An Historical and Geographic Perspective* (New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1978) 18.

24. Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925* New York: Vintage Books, 1976), 209-210.

25. In 1993, after Cousin Rea died, the church conference elected Cousin Crozella Mabley Jacobs, a descendant of Abraham Lincoln Johnson through her father's mother. Cousin Crozella is also the mother of the current pastor. However she declined passing the title instead to Cousin Hattie Butler the granddaughter of Suzie Staggers.

26. Melville Herskovits, "Problems of Method and Theory in Afro-American Studies," in *The New World Negro*, ed., Frances Herskovits (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966[1945]), 565-57.

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27. The Revivalists evolved out of the Native Baptists, who were established by George Liele and Moses Baker, two ex-slave Afro-Baptist preachers from Georgia. Liele, who was born into slavery in Virginia in 1752, was converted and baptized by Matthew Moore, an ordained Baptist minister, becoming the first Black Baptist in Georgia. After being licensed to preach, between 1773-1775, he and his converts formed an Afro-Baptist church, on a plantation in Silver Bluff, South Carolina. In 1788, another of Liele's converts established the Bryan Street African Baptist Church in Savannah that was reorganized in 1794 as the First African Baptist Church.

Liele, freed in his master's will, traveled to Jamaica and Trinidad preaching to slaves and freedmen. Military companies of former slaves who fought for the Loyalists in the War of 1812 were freed in Trinidad. Liele traveled to Trinidad to preach to them and Africans still enslaved. The soldiers formed so called Company towns in Trinidad, where they practiced a more "Africanized" form of Baptist religion. They shared these communities with Yoruba peoples, who had also been freed by the British. The Spiritual Baptist religion evolved out of the syncretism between Yoruba orisha worship, called Shango in Trinidad, and the African American soldiers' spirited "African" form of the Baptist religion. See, Asram L. Stapelton, "The Birth and Growth of the Baptist Church in Trinidad and Tobago, and the Caribbean," (for the International Spiritual Baptist Ministerial Council, West Indies Pamphlet, West Indian Collection, U.W.I., Cave Hill, Barbados, 1982).

28. In 1988 I spent a week interviewing and videotaping at St. Michael's Revivalist Tabernacle, Kingston, Jamaica. I conducted participant observation in Barbados from October 1988 through May 1989 as an initiate of the Spiritual Baptist religious community.

29. Reverend Neverson of the St. Vincent Spiritual Baptist told me that Mother Reverend is the title of the highest woman's role in their religious community and she too is the church leader's sister.

30. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992). Hall summarizes Germaine

Dieterlen, *Essai sur la Religion Bambara* (Bruxelles, Belgique: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1988); Adu Boahen, with J.F. Ade Ajayi, and Michael Tidy, *Topics in West African History*, 2nd ed (Edinburgh Gate, Harlow, Essex, England: Longman Group, 1986); Wyatt McGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa: the Bakongo of Lower Zaire* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986); Pascal Imperato, *Buffoons, Queens, and Wooden Horsemen; the Dyo and Gouan Societies of the Bambara of Mali* (New York: Kilima House, 1983); John M. Janzen, *Lemba, 1650-1930: a Drum of Affliction in Africa and the New World* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982); Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "invisible institution" in the Antebellum South* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); W. T. Harris, and Harry Sawyer. *The Springs of Mende Belief and Conduct* (Freetown, Sierra Leone University Press [Distributed by the Oxford University Press, New York], 1968); E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olódùmarè: God in Yoruba Belief* (New York: Praeger, 1963); Karl Edvard Laman., *The Kongo*, volume 4 (Upsala: Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia, 1953-1968); Melville J. Herskovits, *Dahomey, an Ancient West African Kingdom* (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1938).

31. Victor W. Turner, "Symbols in African Ritual," in *Science* 179(1973): 1100-1105.

32. Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in the *Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973[1966]). For further discussion read: Audrey L. Brown, "Women & Ritual Authority in Afro-American Baptist churches of Florida," in *How Sweet the Sound: The Spirit of African American History*, Nancy E. Fitch, ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Publishers, 2000); Idem, "Women & Ritual Authority in Afro-American Baptist Churches of Florida," in *Anthropology & Humanism Quarterly* 13(1)(1988): 2-10.

33. Zora Neal Hurston, *Dust Tracks on a Road: An Autobiography*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1984[1970]); Carol B. Stack, *All our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* (New York, Harper & Row, 1974); Carol B. Stack, *Call to Home: African Americans Reclaim the Rural South*, (New York: Basic Books, 1996); Alice Walker, *The Color Purple: A Novel*. (New York:

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982); Melvin D. Williams, *On the Street Where I Lived* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981).

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